is worthy of note.

On solemn occasions, entrance to the tent is made in order of seniority.

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The support of the poor.

The aksakals collect food for the poor, exhorting everyone to give tengry khaky or kongsy khaky, i.e., alms /250/ to which the beggars have a right in the name of God or in the name of being in the neighborhood, even though for a short time, especially since as they wander about a great deal they will spread the fame of the benefactors in distant places. Those of the poor who have the strength to walk about the world beg for alms themselves. The customary law does not prohibit mendicancy. Women give alms with special eagerness.

In the belief of the Moslems, the prayers of the poor are heard by God. Altynalma dua al, dua altyn imes me? "Do not take gold, take a prayer. Is not a prayer the same as gold?" (1) The blind,

1. Proverb.

cripples, etc. live with their relatives, who are forced to support them by the aksakals and biis on the basis of kinship. They say "this defect is from God." But if the kinsman himself has nothing, he leads the other about the world.

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Clergy and schools.

There are no large mosques in the steppe. They are organized in buildings (tam), but not in tents (uy). The namazi-dzhuma, the solemn divine service, is rarely read in them.

The Kazakh imam (prior), when he has finished studying at the religious seminary / medrese / is invited by someone who has built a mosque, or by that person's heirs. He is not promised a specific sum as an income. The income of the imam consists 1) in the offerings of the parishioners in natura (astyk) at the time of the harvest, to the amount of one-tenth of the harvest; 2) in dona-

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tions (kudai or khuday yolyna) in small livestock, on various occasions, and 3) in the five kopek collection made from each person when the parishioners come to the breaking of the fast (urazany bittir), the day before the holiday, or on the very day - not later. The imam buys an animal on account of this collection in order to ragale everyone (kudai).

The muezzin (sufi) is usually a literate Kazakh /251/ in the service of an imam. The parishioners pay him nothing.

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The Kazakhs had no local or general annual holidays. Now they celebrate both annual Moslem holidays, Uraza-Bairam and Kurban-Bairam, on which they arrange races and kukbure.

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There are very many schools (mekteb) in the steppe. In every Kirgiz volost of the Auliye-Ata uyezd there are from one to four schools maintained by wealthy people.

They read the same books as the Sarts. The schools are in buildings or in tents. The owner of the latter invites a teacher (molda, damulla) for his children for a year from the Kazakhs. He gives him a horse, a long coat, etc. The neighbors send their children to this mullah for the payment of one tillia per year.

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The clergy and the teachers, if they are not Sarts, are tried by biis. Bothering them with the oath for outsiders is avoided.

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They are not rejected for bad behavior which is known by rumor. For being convicted in court they forfeit trust or their places.

Casting lots.

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When a dispute arises in the division of land or meat over the inequality of the parts, they "throw dice" (chub tastaydy). Each of the participants in this division lays a twig, which he has separated from others by cutting it off, into the skull cap of an outside disinterested person, who turns around so as not to see which twig belongs to which person. Then this person takes out the twigs and lays them on the corresponding sides. It is not customary to declare the lots invalid (chubti buzbaydy).

/252/ Wagers

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The Kazakhs lay a wager (chirt, sert) as to which of two persons is right, or else on the accomplishment of something, for example, not sleeping for a certain number of days, etc. In a combat or in a competition of two singers the observers, divided into two parties, sometimes lay a wager on the victory of one singer or the other. The

[187 cont.]

X 648 Tatishchev replied that he would not fail to make his submission known to the Empress. He promised him assistance and protection, but suggested, at the same time, that he swear the oath again. Abulkhair responded that he had already sworn the oath once, but in spite of this he was agreeable to swearing it again. At this the most senior member of the Moslem clergy was ushered into the tent with the Koran, and a[188] golden rug was brought on which the Khan knelt, and after having heard the reading of the oath, he kissed the Koran.

Immediately after the ceremony Tatishchev put aside for him a rich saber mounted in gold which, as a special mark of favor, the Khan was not to draw except against the enemies of Russia. At the same moment the elders and the common Kazaks swore the oath before Tevkelev in other tents.

The ceremony ended with a feast, during which, in order to divert and astonish the guests, the health of the Empress and that of the Emperor were drunk to, to the sound of the cannon.

The following day Sultan Nurali, eldest son of the Khan, arrived in Orenburg. He too was shown great honor, although less than that shown to his father. He too swore the oath in Tatishchev's [131] presence and later received in the name of the Empress a saber mounted in silver.

The first meeting of the head of the Orenburg expedition with the Khan was soon followed by several others. Tatishchev and Abulkhair paid each other frequent visits, both in Orenburg and outside the fortress in the camp of the Kazak chief, in public and also in private. In these meetings it was settled:

1. That Erali Sultan, Abulkhair's son, who lived in Orenburg as hostage, should be sent back to the horde, and Khodji Akhmet, another son of the Khan should take his place.

2. That the Khan obligated himself to free and send back to Russia all Russian prisoners, not only those within the horde, but also those in all the neighboring lands.

[663] We will mention in passing that he could never have carried out this promise, and when he made it he knew the impossibility of keeping his word.

[230 cont.]
x 648 of prince and a calendar [sic] in which the conditions were stated by which he was recognized as a vassal.

[726] While Ablai and the weak sultans of the Middle Horde, who were his partisans, ravaged Dzungaria with their subjects, the Little Horde was fighting its coreligionists, the Bashkirs. An [721] offense committed by the former produced such a hatred between the two peoples that it has not been entirely eliminated today. In order to describe this event better, we will present a picture of the condition of the Bashkir country at this time.

[669] This people, which had been under Russian domination since the reign of Ivan the Terrible, had often raised the standard of revolt and had been punished for so doing. The misfortunes which caused the revolt of 1735 had scarcely ended in 1742. In spite of the difficult circumstances of this land, which for those seven years had had to mourn the loss and the sufferings of many of its inhabitants, the survivors did not remain quiet for long. On May 18, 1755 they revolted once more. Mutiny broke loose at once and began with the massacre of all the Russians to be found in the country, not only on the same day but almost at the same hour. This revolt was incited by the letters of a ● [793 721] mullah named Batyr Shah, who reproached the Moslem faithful for obeying Christians and implored every believer in God and Mohammed to take arms, assuring them that those who died [775] in this holy dispute would receive the eternal rewards promised by the Koran. Similar letters were also sent to the Kazan Tatars and the Kazak hordes. The latter took advantage of the [726] occasion and began at once to make raids across the Russian borders under the pretext of supporting the Bashkirs.

The position of the Orenburg line then became extremely critical. It extended over a length of more than 1,000 versts; it was separated from the settlements in the interior and was surrounded by the Bashkirs in the north and [231] the Kazaks in the south. Most of the so-called fortresses and fortified posts had no fortifications at all. The garrisons were weak. In a word, at the slightest reverse all the residents along the border could perish, excepting those defending the fortress of Orenburg.

/220 cont./

764 this redemption went to the poor, but now it goes to the mullah. The graves are not dug very deeply (one to two arshin) and sometimes have a side niche in which the deceased is placed (in the "akhret") slightly on his side, facing Mecca. The niche is blocked off with stones or wood and earth is sprinkled over the top. Those present throw handfuls of earth on the grave. Places that are conspicuous and frequented by people, beside great roads and always on a hill, mound, or mountain, are chosen for graves, for in this way honor is shown to the dead. Memorials of the most varied forms and various cost are raised above the graves. Most of them are of sod, but there are also whole mausoleums, for example, the tombs of Alach, Kurpech, Ablai, etc. Graves are honored by the Kirghiz /Kazak/ as sacred places.

779 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ profess Islam. Most of them adopted this faith in the first quarter of the 14th century, during the rule of the khan Uzbek (in the Golden Horde). The teachers of Islam were mullahs of Khiva, Bukhara, and Tashkent. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ consider themselves of the Sunnite sect, i.e., they recognize as holy books the life of Mohammed and others, in addition to the Koran. It is known that the true Sunnites have a deep hatred for the Shiites (who do not recognize these books), hating them even more than Christians. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, however, not only do not exhibit this intolerance, but are instead even indifferent to their religion. Religious strife is foreign to them, and they observe few rituals. In general the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are bad Moslems. Formerly the clerical estate was made up of hadjis (descendants of the fourth generation of Mohammed Ali, who wear the green turban) and mullahs. Later the spiritual leaders (mullahs) were fugitive, barely literate Kazan Tatars who escaped recruit duty in the steppe. Among the illiterate and ignorant people it was not difficult for these people to pose as true mullahs. At present the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have mullahs from their own midst. For their training there are [872] medreses (schools by the mosques, in Petropavlovsk and Semipalatinsk) where they receive elementary education. Later,

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793 to supplement their education they travel to the learned centers of Islam -- to Bukhara, Khiva, Tashkent, and Samarkand (1).

1. The volost mullah is called akhun. The chief spiritual figure (with the power of our /Eastern Orthodox/ bishop /arkhierey/) is the Mufti, who lives in European Russia.

799 Recently, with the intensification of connections with the Moslems
797 of Central Asia, /221/ Islam has begun to take deeper root.
788 /Illustration appears here./ This can be deduced indirectly by the increase of pilgrimages to Mecca. In 1901 up to 300 pilgrimage tickets were issued in Omsk.

796 Among the holidays we will mention "Kurbanayz" ("the
782 sacrifice," symbolizing the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice). On this holiday it is necessary to slaughter (offer as a sacrifice) the best male animal (horse or bull, "so that in the other world, when the sinners are driven through hell along a thin tightrope as sharp as a saber, they will have something on which to ride"). Usually one animal is slaughtered for every seven persons. According to an old custom the rich invite all the poor of the village to eat with them. The hides of the animals go to the mullah. The
796 holiday is accompanied by games and amusements. Of these the
526 races, in which girls also take part, are popular. The adults delight in the running of their best racers, while the young people amuse themselves by chasing each other. If a young man catches a girl, he is permitted to kiss her. If he fails to catch her, the girl will chase him back. This is a movable holiday.

796 In memory of the fasting of Mohammed, there has been
785 established a thirty-day "uraza" (fast), and the month of this fast is called "Ramazan." During this time the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is obliged to renounce food and drink from sunrise ("as soon as only a thread is visible") until sundown. Eating is permissible only at night. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have adapted themselves to this by eating and drinking all night and sleeping during the daytime. In winter this fast passes easily, but in summer, when

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 limited size. How many kin a man has; how many will inherit from him; who will support him; whom he must support; whose wife he will take in the levirate; whose son he may adopt as his own; who will help him in pasturing his flocks; the variation is of relatively small range. All these relationships are consanguineal, and for this reason the factors of the environment play a profound role in the daily life of the Kazakhs, and impose themselves on the very kinship structure.

622 The leadership of the aul, other than that of a clan or lineage chief, was in the hands of the aksakal, as of old. In the past, the incumbency of the office was based on birth, primogeniture, or alternatively, the designation of the most able son if the first was incompetent or had quarreled with his father. Later the determination was based on wealth; but in any case, his social position was the highest in the village, and his word was decisive as a rule.[281] He settled disputes and conducted the affairs of the community generally, and presided over its religious life, in the absence of a mullah; but since mullahs were rare in this part of the Turkic world, the leading of prayers, sacrifices, etc., was generally left to the aksakal.[282] Such then was the nomadic village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs. We

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[281] Ibid., 56.

[282] Ibid., 50.

8:Kostenko -36-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
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793 Any man who is the slightest bit literate can be a mullah. There are very few of them in the steppe, however. These are people for the most part who can scarcely read the Tatar language, and do not know a single word of Arabic, but have learned several prayers from the Koran by heart. These mullahs travel about among the auls, performing marriages and participating in funerals. But quite often weddings and funerals take place without them as well. In the Kazakh wedding, as has been said earlier, the civil part, that is, the property, plays the main role, while the funerals of the poor must perforce take place without mullahs, since there is no profit from the poor. There are among these mullahs some persons who have received some /349/ religious instruction in Samarkand and Bukhara and who are venerated by the people, but the majority are pitiful ignoramuses and parasites, extracting various advantages from a gullible people, resorting to sorcery for these ends and in general to rites and inventions out of their own imagination.

791 In spite of this weak development of
797 religious ideas among the people and the complete absence of a Moslem ecclesiastical hierarchy, it may be said that there is very little Christianity among the Kazakhs. One obstacle to the dissemination of the Eastern Orthodox faith is the veneration of ikons, which is oriented too sharply against the first principle of Islam and is completely incomprehensible to people who have grown up under the influence of diametrically opposite views on this subject. A more important reason for the lack of dissemination of Christianity among